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GETTYSBURG PEACE MEMORIAL

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HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

U. S.

COMMITTEE ON THE LIBRARY

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

H. R. 11112

A BILL TO ERECT A MEMORIAL ON THE GETTYSBURG
BATTLE FIELD TO COMMEMORATE THE FIFTIETH
ANNIVERSARY OF THAT BATTLE

FEBRUARY 18, 1914



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HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS.

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GETTYSBURG PEACE MEMORIAL.

COMMITTEE ON THE LIBRARY,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., February 18, 1914.

The committee met at 10.30 o'clock a. m., Hon. James L. Slayden (chairman) presiding.

STATEMENT OF HON. SWAGAR SHERLEY, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF KENTUCKY.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee. I have introduced H. R. 11112, a bill to create the Gettysburg peace memorial commission and authorizing that commission to locate the place and erect a memorial on the Gettysburg battle field to commemorate the peace celebration on the fiftieth anniversary of that battle. The bill reads:

[H. R. 11112, Sixty-third Congress, second session.]

A BILL To create the Gettysburg peace memorial commission, charged with the duty of locating the memorial on the Gettysburg battle field to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of that battle July first, second, third, and fourth, nineteen hundred and thirteen.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That a commission is hereby created, to be known as the Gettysburg peace memorial commission, charged with the duty of determining and procuring a suitable location and the erection thereon of an appropriate memorial on the battle field of Gettysburg, to commemorate the reunion of the veterans of the Union and Confederate armies on the fiftieth anniversary of that battle, July first, second, third, and fourth, nineteen hundred and thirteen.

Sec. 2. That in the discharge of its duties the said commission is authorized to employ the services of such artists, sculptors, architects, and others as it shall deem necessary.

Sec. 3. That said commission shall consist of the Secretary of War; John P. Nicholson, chairman of the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission; and Andrew Cowan, Eli Torrance, John C. Black, and Thomas S. Hopkins, representing the Union veterans, and Hilary A. Herbert, William Hodges Mann, E. McIver Law, and A. J. West, representing the Confederate veterans.

Sec. 4. That whenever a vacancy or vacancies upon said commission shall occur such vacancy or vacancies shall be filled by the President of the United States.

Sec. 5. That said commission shall submit an annual report to the Congress giving a detailed statement of the work of the commission during the preceding year.

Sec. 6. That the members of said commission shall be paid their actual expenses incident to the authorized work of the commission.

Sec. 7. That for the purpose of the erection of the said memorial and the expenses incident thereto there is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$500,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary.

I shall not take much of the time of the committee this morning with any statement of my own as there are gentlemen here present who can more fittingly and properly express the sentiment that actuated them and me in proposing this memorial. However, I want to preface what they shall say by this statement. I appreciate how Congress has been asked in the past to make many appropriations for many individuals, who, in the opinion of the movers of those appropriations, were worthy of being remembered by statutes, and history with its ironies has frequently shown that the only virtue that those statutes had was to commemorate the zeal of particular men rather than the services of the individuals for whom they were erected. We do not come, however, in this instance asking a statue to a man; but we do believe that it is proper that what is unique among the people of the world should be commemorated, and that is not the Civil War, great and momentous as it was, but the peace that followed after that war within the lifetime of the participants in the war; a peace that has been peculiar to our country and is the greatest tribute to her institutions of all the things that have occurred in her history. It took England more than 200 years to get over her civil wars. We at the end of 50 years find that war leaving no bitternesses and only the glorious memories of those who fought on each side of it. It was with a view to commemorate that good feeling that the meeting was had on the Gettysburg battle field last year, and out of that meeting grew the movement for a monument to forever perpetuate the fact, and to myself fell the honor, for I consider it an honor, of introducing this bill.

I know the demands that are put upon this committee. I think I know something of the demands that are put upon the Treasury. It has been my work very largely for 11 years in Congress to fight to hold down expenditures; but there are times when events are more important than a ledger account, and I do not think that this matter can be or will be considered with regard to expenditures. I wanted to say this much, because I think it is proper that at the start it should be differentiated from the ordinary bill to erect a memorial to an individual. I wish to say this also to the committee. It was easily possible to have burdened you gentlemen with a large number of communications in favor of this bill, and I could easily have crowded this room fivefold over to show the interest of men of both the North and the South in this bill and its enactment. Instead of that I have asked some of the gentlemen who were the prime movers in this matter, and who in a peculiar way reflect the high sentiment that prevades the whole country, to appear before you and very briefly express their views, and with this preliminary statement, with the permission of the chairman, I will be glad to ask ex-Secretary Herbert to speak.

STATEMENT OF HON. HILARY A. HERBERT, OF WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mr. HERBERT. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, the monument we are asking at Gettysburg is not to be a memorial of the battle that was fought on that field—it is intended to commemorate a peace meeting that was held there 50 years after the battle. Fifty-six thousand Federal and Confederate veterans, averaging perhaps over 70 years

old, 9,000 of them Confederates, many of them paying their way from distant States, some as far off as Texas, gathered there for three days in midsummer to rejoice together that peace had come to them and their children. They and the two great armies they represented had fought each other on a thousand battlefields; yet now they called each other comrades as they talked over those battles. They chatted and laughed, and sometimes they embraced and cried over each other, as a Federal found the Confederate, or a Confederate found the Federal, who had risked his life to give him a cup of water or to drag him out of the range of danger as he lay wounded in the line of fire.

That was, taken altogether, the most wonderful meeting that the world has ever seen. We are here, as the representatives of those veterans, to ask the Government to build a monument to commemorate that gathering. Those old gray-haired men knew, and they felt in their hearts, as they recalled the past and looked forward into the bright future that awaits their descendants, what that meeting meant. If you can be made to visualize all this as they did, I am sure you will report in favor of authorizing that monument, and that, when Congress comes to consider it, the Congress will say, as posterity will say, that that monument stands for far and away more than any memorial Congress has ever appropriated for, save and excepting only the monuments to George Washington and Abraham Lincoln; and of these two monuments this will be the complement. The Washington Monument and the Lincoln Memorial leave the story of the formation of a perfect Union only two-thirds told. If we are to complete that story in stone the monument we ask for must be built. It is as essential as the other two. The three taken together will tell the tale to our posterity.

George Washington presided over the convention that framed our Constitution. He dreamed of and wrought for an everlasting Union of 13 coequal States, then composed of 4,000,000 of people. He died full of hope, but left his people wrangling over the question as to whether in the last resort the power of a State or the power of the Federal Government was supreme. Abraham Lincoln found 31 States and 30,000,000 of people at war over that same question. He dreamed of and labored for his plan for bringing those States back into a peaceful and happy Union of coequal States; but President Lincoln unfortunately died when his plans were only half completed, and this delayed them for many years.

The meeting of the veterans of the two armies that had fought out the issue that was pending when George Washington died and when Abraham Lincoln died—that gathering at Gettysburg in July, 1913—was a token, and it was the final and conclusive proof that what the monument to Washington and the monument to Lincoln both, more than all else, stood for—a perpetual Union of happy and contented coequal States—had at last been realized. Those veterans at Gettysburg last summer went there because ours was now such a Union and it had now grown into a Union of 48 coequal States, composed of 100,000,000 of people, not one of whom would have it otherwise. All the clouds that had lowered over the house of those assembled veterans and over the homes of their ancestors had been in the deep bosom of the ocean buried, and, our people united now forever,

those grizzled old veterans were the proud representatives of the foremost Nation in the world. It is to mark this that they have commissioned us to ask of you a monument on which we suggest there shall be inscribed the single word "Peace." But that word, when orators shall expound and historians shall explain it in the future, will mean more than that. It will add its crowning glory to the Constitution which Washington helped to frame and under which Lincoln sought to reunite our warring States, and that peace monument will mark the grave in which sectionalism is buried forever.

When its story is studied the world will understand what was in the minds of those old veterans at Gettysburg last July. The issues that divided them in the past had been settled. Some of those old men may have changed their minds about each other and about many other things, but none of them in that gathering had ever wavered in his love for the Constitution of the fathers. That was what they had fought about, that was what they had all fought for. They had differed about its meaning. The Southerners had set it up at Richmond, amended so as to express precisely what they insisted the fathers meant, and the Confederacy had fought to the death to maintain it.

For a time after the close of our dreadful war the seceded States had sad experiences, but after a time Anglo-Saxon civilization reasserted itself, the constitutional right of the States to govern themselves was acknowledged by the courts and by the country, and then came peace and content.

The mutual admiration of the courage and patriotism of one another that began during the war between Union and Confederate soldiers and has grown ever since, and that magnanimity which always goes with true bravery and which has been manifested so often and in so many ways, has done much to restore peace and harmony, but the restoration in the seceded States of the right to govern themselves has done more than all else, and that is what the monument we ask for will tend to perpetuate. If sectionalism is never resurrected this will continue to be a Union composed of happy and contented self-governing States. How, gentlemen, can you hesitate?

Your great State of Texas, Mr. Chairman, and my State of Alabama, were represented at Gettysburg last summer, because those States were members of a Union of coequal States. Confederate veterans from Texas and Alabama were there, as proud and contented as were the Union veterans from New York and Massachusetts. Our southern people own allegiance to the flag of the Union, not as do the people of Alsace and Lorraine to the flag of Germany, because the bayonet is over them, but willingly and enthusiastically. It is the Constitution of the United States that has been the dominant factor in the make-up of our sectional trouble, and when you authorize a peace monument at Gettysburg you will be building a monument to that Constitution, you will add more glory to what Gladstone said was the greatest work ever struck off in a given time by the hand of man.

Gentlemen of this committee may think they fully appreciate the blessings of peace and the horrors of war. They have learned all this, they think, from books and by tradition; but oh, if they could only recall by memories growing more and more vivid year after year the awful realities of the past, as did the gray-haired men who

met each other last July at Gettysburg—remember their comrades stricken down by disease and in battle, widows and orphans at home in tears—if they could only recall, as I do, the shriek of a dear sister, when I, myself then at home wounded, broke to her as best I could the death of her husband—and he was the third of the family to fall in battle. If they could remember, as I do at this moment, her agonized shriek as she fell speechless to the floor; if they could only recall scenes like this, and then remember that 56,000 men, many of them with memories like mine, gathered last summer from every State in the Union at Gettysburg, to rejoice that there was to be no more war between them and theirs.

Gentlemen, sectional hostility growing out of our horrible war is almost entirely extinct, thank God, but it may be that here and there, North and South, an occasional troglodyte, one who has never smelt gunpowder, may be disposed to crawl out of his cave and chirp about the “d——d rebel” or the “d——d Yankee.” Build this monument, and let our countrymen point such a fellow to it and say, “The war is over.”

Mr. Chairman, I want to say in conclusion just a word personal to myself, and that may smack somewhat of party politics, and I beg your pardon for doing it, but I can not but speak what is in my heart. I was a soldier in the Confederate Army under Lee. I am proud to say that I did my duty fully, to the best of my ability. Then I served this Government afterwards for 20 years, and I did my duty as faithfully to the Government of the United States as I had tried to do to the Government of the Confederacy. During all my 20 years of public service I can proudly say that never at any time did I utter one word or do one single thing that would stir up sectional strife, and I have never had the opportunity to do anything that would in my opinion tend to bring the North and the South closer together that I did not do it. I have never since wanted to be a Member of Congress until now. I wish now that I were, that I might have the opportunity of doing something that would further the bill for this monument, which is to stamp with the great seal of the Nation the conclusive evidence given by the 56,000 veterans at Gettysburg that this is to be a perpetual Union of happy and contented States, all of them exercising the right of self-government that was guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States.

I do not see how you can hesitate when you consider the importance of this question. It is exceptional. I am a Democrat. I believe in the Democratic platform. I believe in economy, but in my opinion the public and the Democratic Party will excuse an appropriation for this monument, and they will not excuse a failure to do what seems to me to be the plain duty of Congress in the premises.

I thank you, gentlemen, for your attention.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, Col. Cowan is the next speaker.

STATEMENT OF COL. ANDREW COWAN, OF LOUISVILLE, KY.

Col. COWAN. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, our patriotic purpose has been admirably presented by Col. Herbert, the president of our association, and only a few words remain to be said by others who are here. We are men who took part in the War between the States, or the Civil War, whichever term may be

most appropriate. Some of us fought for the Confederacy and some of us fought against it. Col. Herbert had the good fortune to serve under Gen. Robert E. Lee. I served under McClellan and Burnside and Hooker and Meade, and I was present at Appomattox when the Army of Northern Virginia surrendered to the Army of the Potomac. The manifestations of fraternal feeling and sympathy that were witnessed there it would be pleasant to describe. The bitter conditions that followed at the South it would be difficult to account for, except through the reconstruction acts which embittered the southern people more than the war had done. It has been my fortune to live in Kentucky since the 4th of July, 1866. I should never have crossed the Ohio River had I known that such bitterness and hatred would confront Union soldiers there. Twenty-five years ago the bitter feeling began to weaken. Some of the great Union men had already left the State. They had welcomed the Confederates that returned home to Kentucky and those who came from other Southern States seeking homes.

Politics soon separated them again, and there was no peace in Kentucky. When the tide began to turn after many unhappy years one of the first to promote social peace was Mr. Henry Watterson, a Confederate soldier. Last October the annual reunion of the Society of the Army of the Potomac was held at Ogdensburg, N. Y. One of the speakers before the great audience that filled the opera house was Capt. John H. Leathers, of the Second Virginia Infantry, who was wounded in the Battle of Gettysburg. Gen. Horatio C. King, the secretary of the society, and I, its president, requested him to wear his U. C. V. uniform. His patriotic speech was received with great applause. When the report of the proceedings was published I sent a copy to Mr. Watterson, who is in Europe, and received a letter from him in which he said:

I read the little volume through and both laughed and cried for joy. It especially rejoiced my heart to follow you and Capt. Leathers through the meeting and to mark what you said and did. My dream of peace has now come true and will be graven in granite and bronze when the Gettysburg peace monument is completed and dedicated. To that end I am writing by this mail to Mr. Slayden, chairman of the Library Committee, an old friend.

We had very serious political trouble in Kentucky through a contest between Gov. Taylor and Senator Goebel for the office of governor. After the assassination of Senator Goebel the Taylor militia were formed on one side of Railroad Street at Frankfort and the Beckham militia were on the opposite side of the same street.

Gen. Basil W. Duke, one of the greatest soldiers of the Confederacy, who had espoused the Taylor side of the controversy, came to see me at Louisville one day and said, "Col. Cowan, they are about to fight at Frankfort. I wish that you would see Gen. Castleman and request him to restrain the Beckham militia force that he commands."

I replied, "Gen. Castleman is your compatriot and friend, and a man whom we both respect. Let us go together to see him." We told Gen. Castleman that an agreement or understanding had been effected between leaders of both sides that there should be no attempt to throw Gov. Taylor out of the executive building until the court of last resort had settled the question. Gen. Castleman replied, "I will go to Frankfort by the first train and there shall be no resort

to arms, at least until the courts have settled this contest." A day or two later Gov. Taylor came down to request me to go to Washington and ask President McKinley what the Federal Government would do if there was civil war in Kentucky.

I said, "It is useless for me to go to Washington to ask that question of President McKinley, for I am sure that he will answer that nothing will be done." But Gov. Taylor insisted, and I came here. A meeting had been arranged for by Mr. Sam Roberts, of Lexington, and we were received by the President in the Cabinet room. I asked the question as Gov. Taylor had requested me to do, and the answer was as I had expected. I then started to retire, but the President said, "Sit down, please, I want to talk with you." He spoke for a few minutes about the Shenandoah Valley campaign of 1864, in which he had been engaged in the Eighth Corps and I in the Sixth Corps. Then he began to talk about the unfortunate conditions, political and social, that existed in the South, between men from the North who had gone there since the war and men of the South whose homes had been there since before the war. He said to me very earnestly, that if he could bring about a change of sentiment so that we might live in peace and harmony together he would consider it the greatest achievement of his life. I made a move to withdraw, because I saw that members of the Cabinet had come into the room, but he detained me by placing his hand over mine, finally saying, "We must have peace."

He mentioned that in the War with Spain he had welcomed back to the military service such southern soldiers as Gen. Fitzhugh Lee and Gen. Joe Wheeler, and that he had issued military commissions to many other loyal Confederate soldiers who sought to serve the country.

That conversation with President McKinley brought the matter of peace between North and South more closely to me than it had been before. When the Grand Army of the Republic accepted the invitation, which was extended by Mr. Watterson, to come to Louisville in 1895, we were anxious that they should receive a welcome worthy of old Kentucky. We wanted for chairman of our committee one who was "to the manor born," a man noted for southern hospitality; so Mr. Thomas H. Sherley, the father of our distinguished Representative, was asked to be the chairman, and he accepted our invitation. The Grand Army of the Republic was entertained in Louisville as well as they have been entertained anywhere else. That was the first invitation they had received from the South. It broke down a wall of prejudice and started a feeling of good will that has been growing ever since.

When the United Confederate Veterans came to Louisville for the first time I was asked to serve as chairman of the committee on entertainment of general officers. When they came the second time I was requested to repeat my services, which I gladly did. I was greatly surprised, though, on the second day of that Confederate meeting, when I was called into a room at the Pendennis Club, where Gen. Duke, on behalf of the Confederates, presented me with a silver loving cup. Gen. Duke, of Kentucky, is admired as a soldier and a gentleman wherever he is known, and those who know him well love him best. He said of me, "Col. Cowan, after I came to live in Louis-

ville I had an idea that such a black Republican as you grew horns under your hat. Since then we Confederates have found out that you are a better man than we thought, and you have won our esteem, like many others of our former foes who came here from the North." The sentiment of peace and good will between the men who wore the blue and the men who wore the gray is becoming universal, both North and South. At Gettysburg, last July, Gov. McCreary, of Kentucky, and Gen. Young, the commander in chief of the United Confederate Veterans, occupied two of the five rooms at the Eagle Hotel which I had reserved for my friends three years before. Capt. John H. Leathers, of the Second Virginia Regiment, and Capt. George C. Norton, of the Eighth Georgia Regiment, occupied another of the rooms. Maj. John B. Pirtle, who was a distinguished staff officer of the Confederate Army, and Adj. Gen. Ellis, of Kentucky, occupied another.

We had come from Kentucky to Gettysburg feeling apprehensive of trouble. It was known that large numbers of Confederates were coming from every Southern State, and we feared that there might be unpleasant differences, at least, between the blue and gray. But with 45,000 of the northern armies and 9,000 of the men who fought for the Confederacy in camp together only manifestations of friendship and affection were seen in the camp and on the roads and in the streets of the town. A man in gray could hardly walk the length of a block without being stopped several times to be taken by the hand or embraced by men in blue; and the wonderful reunion ended with all hearts filled with gratitude; because it meant, as we old men know, that here at last was a great public manifestation of peace and good will between the men of the North and the men of the South, marking the end of bitterness and the beginning of an epoch in the history of our reunited country.

The Pennsylvania commission had expected to celebrate the Fourth of July as national day. The battle had ended on the 3d of July, 1863. The Fourth of July, 1913, was to be dedicated to the celebration of peace and good will. It was part of the program for the day to lay the corner stone of a monument that should mark the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the battle. When it became necessary to change the program that feature became impracticable. But some of us who deeply felt that the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the battle would not be complete without a permanent record being placed on the battlefield to commemorate the wonderful fraternal meeting that had taken place there undertook to form the Gettysburg Peace Memorial Association for the purely patriotic purpose of erecting a peace monument on the battlefield to stand for all time as a memorial of that wonderful event—the reconciliation of our people North and South after the lapse of only 50 years since they had fought through the fratricidal war.

The question may be asked, Why should we commemorate the event with a monument? Because, gentlemen, nothing like that fraternal meeting had ever been seen in the history of the world. I believe that without such a permanent memorial the significance of the event may be lost for future generations. That reunion commanded the attention of the civilized world. All the world wondered that we could have settled our differences and become friends in the

brief space of 50 years. In England 250 years had not obliterated the bitterness of a civil war, as but 50 years has done with our people.

I have read Mr. Bryce's recent book on South America. He relates that he climbed from the tunnel that pierces the mountain 1,500 feet below, to the top of the Andes, to see "the Christ of the Andes," a bronze statue of more than twice life-size, standing on a stone pedestal, rough hewn from the natural rock of the mountain. Argentina and Chile, of kindred people, had been at enmity, and on several occasions were close to war over the question of a boundary line between the two countries along the top of the Andes. They finally agreed to submit the dispute to the arbitrament of Queen Victoria. After years of careful inquiry a boundary line was drawn which was acceptable to both Argentina and Chile. In recognition of that peaceful settlement of their dispute, the two countries cast this colossal figure out of the metal of cannon and placed it on the top of the Andes, as a "monument of peace and good will, to be an everlasting witness between them."

We would have our country, now united in peace, place on the battle field of Gettysburg a monument that shall bear on its front simply the word "Peace," and on its back a bronze tablet bearing the legend of the reunion on the 1st, 2d, 3d, and 4th days of July, 1913, when more than 54,000 surviving wearers of the blue and gray in our fratricidal war met together in peace and good will. If we should undertake to raise the money to erect the monument by private subscription, it might be done, but the glory of it would be lost. The name of no man shall be honored by that monument. Neither is it a monument to glorify war or valor. It will stand to commemorate peace, and be "an everlasting witness between us." We believe that our country, which is more firmly united than it had been since the Declaration of Independence or the adoption of the Constitution, up to the war between the States, should erect the peace memorial.

Now, permit me to read the last words of President Lincoln's first inaugural:

We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle field and patriot grave, to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

We traveled a long and sorrowful way after those words were spoken here by that great American before we ceased to be enemies. We have become friends, and in that reunion at Gettysburg last July, where all were accounted patriots, surely "the mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle field and patriot grave," united us again in love for the Union and in the bonds of enduring peace. The opportunity to commemorate that wonderful event by erecting a noble monument to stand forever as a beacon light of patriotism for the inspiration of generations yet unborn must not be lost. We appeal to you, gentlemen of the Library Committee, to report the bill favorably; and we rely on the ability of Mr. Sherley, its author, and the patriotism of Congress, for its passage unanimously.

STATEMENT OF CORP. JAMES TANNER, OF WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mr. TANNER. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, the first thought in my mind is to give my indorsement, feeble though it may be, to what our friend Sherley said about the volume of indorsements of this proposition that could be filed here if that were desirable.

As a member of the Grand Army of the Republic, and once its commander in chief, I have no hesitancy in saying to you that we could contribute to that number of indorsements most earnest resolutions from all of the over 6,000 posts numbered in its membership. As an honorary life member of Lee Camp No. 1, Confederate Veterans, of Richmond, Va., for 30 years, I have no doubt that every Confederate camp in the South would present the same indorsement.

Our friend Herbert felt impelled to make a statement, personal to himself, at the close of his remarks. If it were desirable that my insignificant personality should be known to this committee, I would simply have to say that as a New York boy I did what I could to help save the Union, served from Yorktown to the second Bull Run, where I was mustered out by a section of Stonewall's artillery, necessitating the amputation of both legs on the battle field and twice since in later years.

I mention this to show you I have had my full share of the physical agony that comes to us who gave blood and limb and almost life to the cause. But, at the same time, I wish to say, with all possible pride, that from the day of Appomattox my voice and whatever influence I have had has been exerted for the utmost peace and unity between the two great sections. In 1877, during my second year's command of the Grand Army of New York, I took advantage of my position to put out an order to all the posts in that department calling upon them, when we went out on Memorial Day, to pass by no Confederate grave unnoticed from Montauk Point to Buffalo, and they responded unanimously. I had the pleasure while living in Brooklyn to send down a draft for over \$1,600 to our friends in Richmond telling them we wanted to own a few bricks in their new Confederate home.

Now, then, you gentlemen of this committee, you are younger men than we who stood up against one another and gave and took hard blows in the long ago, you must remember that we lived when on both sides great drafts were drawn upon us—drafts that could only be paid in service, in blood and suffering and in life, and we honored every draft from both sides, and we are proud of it. There was a mighty misunderstanding between the two sections, and I want to say to you, because you are younger men, what I said long years ago, that when the war closed no two classes of men in this Nation were as near together as the men in blue and the men in gray, not only physically but mentally, and if we had only known our power and met the crisis we would have gotten together on some political basis where we could have united, and would have escaped the shame and disgrace of the reconstruction, carpetbag days, and the Ku-Klux Klan would never have been born.

Now, we present a spectacle unique in the history of the world, which was voiced by the other gentlemen who have spoken. But it can not be impressed upon your minds too earnestly. Men who had

jumped at each other's throats came together 50 years afterwards, as they did last summer. For what? To justify by their presence and by their greeting the mighty respect that grows up in the heart of every man for those who gave their lives for their country. As Col. Herbert mentioned politics, let me say, from the other side of the line, that I always had a great deal more respect for the man of the South, born and brought up to believe in the doctrine of States' rights, as he believed in his mother's God, who took his life in his hands and went out—I had a thousand times more respect for him than I did for the sneaking copperhead who yelled himself hoarse crying, "Why don't the Army move?" and "On to Richmond!" but who, when Father Abraham called, through the channels of the draft, you would find with a draft list in one hand and a time-table of the nearest route to Canada in the other, ready to jump across the border if he found his name among the chosen. And what do we ask? Things go by ratios, and it seems to me that as we have nearly one hundred millions of people in this Nation, what we come and ask so earnestly of you is a contribution pro rata of half a cent apiece from each one under the American flag.

I wish, if this measure prevails and this memorial be erected, a hundred years from now I could mingle, in the spirit at least, with those who will then be occupying the walks of life here and hear their inquiries and the answers that will be given when the question is asked, "What does this mean?" and the story is told, as it will then have gone down through the corridors of time, after a hundred years, of the mighty tragedy witnessed on that battlefield in 1863, when, at the close of those three awful days, some 40,000 men lay there dead or wounded, and then how 50 years afterwards came the survivors, with love and affection in the hearts of all, everyone proud of being under the same flag, the Nation a big and mighty Nation—not as it was in the sixties, a fourth-rate power, but in the front rank, the front seat being occupied by Uncle Sam in the parliament of nations—and Americanism a power extending around the globe. You ought as a privilege in this matter take a position that your descendants will be proud of and that you will glory in. This memorial—nothing like it on God's earth—should be an object lesson that will carry to the world at large a knowledge, not only of the splendid valor of Americans, North and South, but teaching also the lesson of the generosity of their feelings, their brotherly love, and the chivalry of their hearts. The question is unlimited, the argument unanswerable.

But do not delay because of the fact that in round numbers it will cost half a million dollars. That sounds little to us who paid the drafts I spoke of in blood and in suffering and the draft which so many of our comrades have paid with their lives, making the supreme sacrifice.

We ask this not in a sectional spirit. Here in this room are men who stood against one another on that field, as they stood against each other on other fields. But here we come with a unity of purpose which, it seems to me, permeates the hearts of all, anticipating as we do that you will do your part toward writing this most illuminating page of American history. I thank you.

STATEMENT OF GEN. HORATIO C. KING, OF BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Gen. KING. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, after all that has been said so eloquently, it seems to me quite superfluous for me to attempt to add anything, except to say amen to everything that has been said. We are sometimes confronted with the statement that there is too much sentiment, but we should thank God that at this age, living as we are in the midst of industrial activity, sentiment is coming to the front and that we are permitted to express these sentiments in such a way as this. No more important matter, it seems to me, could be presented to this or any congress than the importance of erecting this great peace monument as a perpetual monument for future generations.

Instead of taking up your time with any remarks of my own, I am requested to read a few lines from Gen. Andrew J. West, of Atlanta, Ga., who was here on Monday, but who was called home by a domestic difficulty. I believe there is to be a wedding in the family to-night, and he had to go home to act as usher. [Laughter.] The letter of Gen. West is addressed to Chairman Slayden, and is as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 16, 1914.

HON. JAMES L. SLAYDEN, *Chairman*:

I came from my home in Atlanta, Ga., to appear before your honorable committee on Monday, the 16th, in behalf of our Southern people pertaining to the bill before your honorable committee to erect a peace memorial on the battle field of Gettysburg, but as I can not remain to appear in person, I most respectfully request that my remarks be read before your honorable committee.

The Confederate soldiers in the Army of Northern Virginia never cheered Gen. Lee when he appeared upon the field of battle or on the march or in the bivouac, but would raise their old worn-out hats in silent admiration. This rule, however, was broken when a private soldier in the Thirty-fifth Georgia Regiment, when that command was entering the Battle of Gettysburg, saw Gen. Lee mounted on Traveler. He stepped to the front, raised his faded cap, gave the rebel yell, and said, "Boys, there sit 10,000 men on one horse." We are here to-day to invoke your friendly cooperation in passing a bill that will enable us to erect a monument of peace on the battle field of Gettysburg, a monument personifying no particular man, living or dead, but a peace offering, designed and erected with the primary object of perpetuating forever the restoration of brotherly feeling that was proven on that field in July last when 55,000 soldiers, survivors of two armies comprising 4,000,000 of Americans told to the world that this indeed is a reunited country.

We ask this in behalf of the gallant Union soldiers who fought with our distinguished friend, Col. Andrew Cowan, at the high-water mark on the battle field of Gettysburg. We ask this in behalf of the survivors of Gen. Grant's Army, who, at Appomattox extended such liberal terms to the southern soldiers as to win their respect and admiration. We ask it in behalf of the spirit that actuated Gen. Grant when, after the war, the arrest of Gen. Lee and the violation of the parole at Appomattox was threatened, Gen. Grant told the country that if this should be attempted he would resign his position as commander of the Army and appeal to the people. We ask it in the same spirit that ran through Gen. Grant's heart when he uttered the imperishable words, "Let us have peace." We ask it in behalf of the Confederate soldiers who wove the music of the Battle of Seven Pines into laurel wreaths for Joseph E. Johnston and caused the waters of the Chickamauga to murmur eternally the name of Braxton Bragg. The smoke from the chimneys of these increasing factories will continue to blacken the sky. These great railroads, whose trains go rushing through this beautiful prosperous country, will bear their burden of valuable freights and precious lives. The hills and valleys in Pennsylvania and Georgia will glow in the garniture of a richer harvest and the remnant of lives spared in the battle have been woven in the texture of the Union. New stars are clustering upon the flag and the sons of Georgia and Pennsylvania are bearing it in the far-off Philippine Islands as their fathers bore it at

Churubusco and Cerro Gordo that the bounds of freedom may be wider still. Our great race will meet and solve every question, however dark, that confronts it. We ask this in behalf of the present generation, who will say to our present race that this indeed is a reunited country—a country that arches the continent, against whose sides the waves of both oceans meet, and on whose dome rests the clouds, and beneath whose canopy is to be found this beautiful city—the capital of the greatest nation under the sun—a monument to which we can point with pride and say to the generations yet unborn. "Come on and be glad, there is room enough for all."

ANDREW J. WEST.

STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN LAMB, OF RICHMOND, VA.

Mr. LAMB. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I do not think there is any necessity for me to say much after all the eloquence we have listened to this morning. I suppose nobody who will address you to-day can more sympathize with the committee than I can. For 12 years I was a member of the Agriculture Committee, and as your chairman knows, for four years the chairman of that committee, and I can appreciate your feelings, gentlemen, when you are asked to make this appropriation. The point between appropriations for monuments to individuals and a great object lesson like this was well pointed out by my former colleague and friend, Mr. Sherley.

Now, I am satisfied you want to know only two things about this proposition: Whether it has behind it a sentiment that will command the confidence of Congress and the approval of your consciences on the one hand and whether any good will result on the other. What is the merit in this proposition?

Now, on the first point there stands behind you 165 survivors of the war who wore the gray and 448 survivors of the Grand Army of the Republic by whose deeds of valor we southern soldiers can well measure our manhood and chivalry. Then 600,000 people, members and survivors of these two armies, have united almost to a man in a request that you grant this legislation. They and their friends in their respective counties and States will increase the number to four millions or five millions of people who believe that the erection of this peace monument to commemorate the gathering, 50 years after the war, of these representatives of these two armies is a fitting and proper thing to do, and this is an object worthy of your consideration and demands your careful and patient thought. One can scarcely believe, gentlemen, that of the 140,000 or more men who came from Virginia and participated in this war but 18,000 survive to-day. Every one of their camps have indorsed this project and written to their Congressmen here to give it consideration. I think they have letters from every camp indorsing this proposition.

Virginia is a monumental State. Richmond is a monumental city, and I thought, when my friend referred to the Washington Monument, that Virginia contributed nearly as much money as you are asked to contribute here to erect in Richmond one of the finest monuments in the world. I understand it is the second of its class in the world, and she did this, too, when she was burdened with debt and when she was trying to advance the internal improvements in her own State, and she is paying the interest on that debt to-day. In Richmond you will find another monument worthy of mention to

that peerless leader, Robert E. Lee, which you gentlemen, when you visit us, will admire; and another, representing the chivalry of Virginia, to J. E. B. Stuart.

So you see in representing Virginia here, Gen. Brown and myself have behind us the sentiment and the feelings of the people of the State of Virginia, a State that knows what war is, because in the space of 85 years she was swept by three horrid wars, and she had scarcely recovered from the material losses of the Revolutionary War before this unfortunate conflict of the Civil War was upon her.

In addition to this, the great empire State of Texas, so well and ably represented by the chairman of this committee, who came with me to the Fifty-fifth Congress, has 24,000 survivors. Texas comes first in the number of survivors, and Virginia comes next in the list of surviving Confederates, and the Texas camps and the people represented through those camps ask you to give this appropriation, and, I think, while I am acquainted with the conservatism and the thoughtful action always of my friend, the chairman of this committee, that he will earnestly and patiently and thoughtfully consider the application of these camps, representing as they do 24,000 Confederate soldiers still residing in Texas.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Will my friend from Virginia permit me to interrupt him with a brief statement there?

Mr. LAMB. Certainly.

Mr. SLAYDEN. It is true there are 24,000 survivors now in Texas. As Capt. Lamb knows, though some of you gentlemen may not, at least 7 out of every 10 of the ex-Confederate soldiers in Texas are immigrants from the old Southern States. They have come to Texas since the war.

Mr. LAMB. My friend has simply anticipated me. I intended to say that out of those 24,000, 7,000 or 8,000 or more had gone from other States and settled in Texas.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Two-thirds of them.

Mr. LAMB. But aside from that, there is a spirit that calls for this, and this proposition has been pervading the minds of the people in this country for the past 20 years, and let me say that I believe this spirit of unity of purpose and thought and action on the part of the people of these respective States was set in motion and, perhaps, the seed sown by no less a man and statesman and patriot than William McKinley. I know it by his utterances in the South. I know it from conversations I held with him during the debates in this House when we were debating whether or not we should declare war against Spain. I recollect saying to him that the soldiers in Congress—and there were then 67 survivors of the Union Army and 32 of the Confederate—that they were against that war, and that the men who brought that unfortunate and unnecessary war on were the young men of 45 or thereabouts who were born when their fathers fought in the Civil War. They were for that war, and he smiled when I made that suggestion. Not long ago in a friendly debate in a camp, of which my friend here, Corpl. Tanner, is an honorary member, it developed that the largest subscriber, perhaps, personally, to the abbey in Richmond was President McKinley and members of his Cabinet.

Now, to show you that this spirit which we invoke for the argument we make here for your support of this proposition has a lodg-

ment in the minds and hearts of the people scattered all over this country, in every Commonwealth, perhaps, in the Union, let me, if I may have the time—and I hope I am not trespassing, because I only intended to occupy five minutes, and I suppose I am getting a little out of the line—show you how that spirit was voiced in the Sixty-second Congress, when the Lincoln Memorial came up, which was spoken of so well by the first speaker, Hon. Hilary Herbert. On that occasion Mr. Mann said:

Mr. Speaker, it is now nearly half a century since the Civil War closed and Abraham Lincoln passed beyond. There has been a lapse of time which ought to permit us to survey the situation with little bias and little passion. I have put the Civil War behind me, a great conflict which was probably inevitable. There were patriots on both sides, gallant men in opposition, but the question of the Union was settled with the end of the war, and no one now would reopen the controverted question so bitterly contested before and during that war. I think we can well afford to do that which shows that the country is again a reunited country, with the passions of war passed by, if not forgotten. I would erect a memorial to Abraham Lincoln on the farther side of the Washington Monument, just this side of the Potomac River, across the river from the home of Robert E. Lee and the burial place of both Union and Confederate soldiers, and then I would erect a memorial bridge across that Potomac River, joining the then Confederate States with the Union, aye, Mr. Speaker, joining the memory of Abraham Lincoln with the memories and respect for Lee. Aye, Mr. Speaker, I would go further. In the course of years not far distant I would construct a roadway from Washington to Mount Vernon, from Mount Vernon to Richmond, and at the other end of that roadway have the Government of the United States construct a memorial to Jefferson Davis, the President of the Confederate States. [Applause.]

When we have done that we have shown to the world that the hearts of all Americans beat in the present as in the past with respect and love for their leaders on both sides. We can afford to forget the animosities and the passions in the peace that passeth all understanding. [Applause.]

Now, gentlemen, if my friend and colleague, whom I admire, had given expression to those utterances 10 years ago he would most likely have been retired to private life. That shows you the spirit of unity of purpose and friendship between the people—not the soldiers so much—but the people representing the public sentiment of this country. All of us know—and it was expressed so well by Corpl. Tanner that I need hardly refer to it—that if these differences had been left to the soldiers of the respective armies after Appomattox there never would have been any trouble, and this peace conference at Gettysburg gave the survivors of the Union Army an insight into the character and feelings of the Confederate soldiers along that line that they never had before, and their letters to Lee Camp, in Richmond, which meets every Friday night, shows that they are awakening to a different conception of that war.

Now, gentlemen, let me close with just a word or two more. There is a beautiful German legend telling of two mailed knights that were approaching each other from opposite points and in front of an obelisk on one side of which was engraved a gold shield and on the other side a silver shield. The one knight remarked, "That is a beautiful gold shield that covers that shaft." "Why," the other said, "it is not gold at all: it is silver," and they fell into a dispute and finally got to fighting and fell on opposite sides to find that both were right. The philosophical historian of the future will declare that in this country 50 years ago both sides were right. No one

denies, or ever has, that the South was right in the strict construction of the Constitution, and that from a changed public sentiment and the general welfare of man the Union side was right. The good that will come from this project will be in the fact that the dedication of this monument to peace will be a guaranty that war shall cease in the future. So when future troubles come, as come they will, notwithstanding my good friend Bartholdt, a member of this committee whom I had hoped would be here to-day and whose voice for peace has been heard on two continents, said the United States would never have any more war. I hope he is right about that. But with human nature constituted as it is and with the diversity of interests in this country, the millenium will have to come to prevent some strife at times. This monument to teach the coming generations the accumulated horrors of war will certainly be an object lesson for those who shall follow us. Gentlemen, I thank you.

STATEMENT OF COL. THOMAS S. HOPKINS, OF WASHINGTON, D. C.

Col. HOPKINS. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I want to say to you—and you may be somewhat surprised at the statement—that probably I am the best friend of the committee here in this room. You do not know, Mr. Chairman, how I have stood between you and thousands of letter writers. I have written and telegraphed all over this country asking comrades North and South not to write any more letters to this committee. I thought possibly you might appreciate this.

Mr. SLAYDEN. I am glad to hear that, because that matter works both ways. Receiving many letters necessarily involves writing many.

Col. HOPKINS. I wish simply to present a letter of two typewritten pages from Judge Torrance, of Minneapolis, one of the most distinguished members of the Grand Army of the Republic and a past commander in chief.

(The letter referred to is as follows:)

To the COMMITTEE ON THE LIBRARY:

GENTLEMEN: The distance from Minneapolis to Washington is so great that it precludes me from appearing in person before you in support of the bill now under consideration for the erection of a peace memorial at Gettysburg. However, with your permission, I desire to submit the following statement for your consideration:

From the time the observance of the fiftieth anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg was inaugurated in 1909 the uppermost thought in the minds of those identified with it was the erection of a peace memorial—a memorial typifying national peace and brotherhood and a reunited people. We hoped that the corner stone of such a memorial might be laid during the celebration and in the presence of many of the surviving veterans of that great conflict. This was not done, and under the circumstances could not be done; but the desire for its accomplishment was eminently praiseworthy, and the fact that it had its birth in the hearts of those who had experienced the horrors of war and who, perhaps as no others, could realize the blessedness of peace should, I am sure, strongly appeal to you, and be safely relied upon as voicing a deep and sacred sentiment that should permeate the lives of our people.

Many monuments, representing battle scenes and military leaders, have been erected, but something more is required for the saving health of the Nation. The perpetuation of the tragic story of the valley of death, made luminous by the dying devotion of heroic souls, is not enough. It is of vital importance that a memorial should be erected, overshadowing all others, that will testify to the greater glory of a reunited country; of the consignment to the grave

of oblivion of old time hatreds, prejudices, and misunderstandings; and the establishment of peace and good will throughout all our borders.

As the official representative of the surviving veterans who wore the blue, and as one whose esteem and affection for the surviving veterans who wore the gray is little less than that for his own comrades, I earnestly ask your committee to grant our request, not for our own sake but for the compelling and ennobling lessons it will forever teach to the American people.

ELL TORRANCE,

Chairman National Committee Grand Army of the Republic.

**STATEMENT OF HON. SWAGAR SHERLEY, A REPRESENTATIVE
IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF KENTUCKY.**

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I only desire to say that the form of the bill may need revision at the hands of the committee. It was introduced with the idea of simply presenting the thought back of it, rather than of serving as an exact form in which that thought should find expression. I am inclined to think there may be some need of making more detailed provision touching the method of the erection of the monument. If this monument is to be built, now is the time to do it. As has been well said, other memorials can wait; in the deep sense, this can not. If the country is to erect this, it is fitting it should be erected at a time when, though only a minority, still a large minority of those who bore the brunt of that great war may be participants in the celebration of the peace that we believe will be everlasting and which this monument will commemorate.

On behalf of the gentlemen here, I thank the committee for their attention.

(Thereupon the committee adjourned.)

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